

Louisville, Falls of Ohio Nov: 18 1778 valuable
My Friends continue to favor me with your valuable
Letters, I esteem your Recommendation though I was
your son; when unacquainted, think not that promotion or
confidence will occasion any uneasiness wide in
me; you have infus'd so many of your Valuable wreaths

in me to be guilty of the like, or to shew any indifference
to those that ought to be dear to me; it is with pleasure
that I obey in transmitting to you a short sketch of my
enterprise and proceeding in the Illinois as near as
I can recollect or gather from memorandums —
After disengaging myself from Kentucky, I set out for
Williamsburg in Aug. 1777 in order to settle my acct.
I had just Pearson known to few but myself that
occationed me to resolve not to have any further command
whatever, without I should find a very great call for
Troops and my Country in danger in such case
I was determined to loose my life rather we should
submit. On my arrival at Town I found so
appearance a friend in ~~many~~^{of} ~~many~~^{gentlemen} of note that offered
their Interest to me incase I should offer at any Post
Many was surprised that I would not solicit for some
Post. I must confess that I think myself often to
blame for not making use of Interest for my promotion
but to meet it first is such a Lipes principle with me
that I never could, and I have never shall ask for a
Post of Honour, as I think the Publick ought to be the
best Judge whether a Person deserves it or not, if he
did he would certainly be rewarded according to the
Virtue they had. But finding that we were in a larning
situation, the Indians desperate on one side, the Britains
on the other I immediately ~~do~~ resolved to encourage

an Expedition to the Illinois. But to make it publick
was a certain loss of it. I propos'd the plan to a few
Gentlemen, they communicated it to the Governor
it was immediately determined on, to be put in
Execution as soon as a Bill could be passed to
enable the Governor to order it: it accordingly pass'd
though but a few in the House knew the real intent of
it. After giving the Council all the intelligence I
properly could, I revolv'd to pursue my other Plans,
But being desired by the Governor to stay some
time in Town, I waited with impatience, he I suppose
believing that I wanted the Command, and was
determined to give it to me; But it was far from
my Inclination at that time. I was summoned
to attend the Council Board; the instructions and
necessary papers were ready for putting in the name
of the Person to Command. I believe they expected
me to solicit for it, but I revolv'd not to do so for
nowever I hinted you before. However I ~~refused~~^{applied} it
after being told the Command of this little Army
was design'd for me. I then got every request granted
and fully empowered to raise as many Men as I
could, after being engaged, I was then as Determined
to prosecute it with Vigour, as I was before indifferent
about the Command; I had since the begining of the
War taken pains to make myself acquainted with
the true situation of the British posts on the

Fronteers, and since find that I was not mistaken
in my judgment - I was ordered to attack the Illinois
in case of Success to carry my Army to any Quarter
I pleased I was certain that with five hundred Men
I could take the Illinois, and by my treating the
Inhabitants as fellow Citizens, and showing them that I
went to protect ~~them~~ rather than treat them as a Conquered
People. Engaging the Indians to our Interest &c
it might probably have a great effect on their Country-
men at Detroit, (they had already disliked their
Master) that it would be an easy prey for me -
I should have mentioned my design to his Excellency
but was constrained, or afraid that it might lessen
his esteem for me, as it was a general opinion that it
would take several thousand to approach that place.
I was happy with the thoughts of fair prospect of
undividing the Publick respecting their formidable
Enemies on our Fronteers, I left Williamsburg January
the 18th, made as quick dispatch as possible to the
Fronteers, and by the end of the month had Recruiting
Parties ~~dispersed~~^{dispersed} from Pittsburg to Carolina, had my
little Army Recruited in half the time I expected -
Elated with the thoughts of the great service we should
do our Country in some measure; ~~and~~ in putting an
end to the Indian War on our Fronteers, it may
appear to you to be a near presumption in me, but

I was always too jealous of myself to be far wrong
in ~~my~~ plans, that I had so long studied, and since
find that I could have executed it with the greatest
ease if it had not been following conduct of many
leading Men in the frontier, that had like to have
put an end to the enterprise, not knowing my
destination, and through a spirit of obstinacy they
combined and did every thing that lay in their power
to stop the Men that had enlisted, and yet the whole
Frontier in an uproar, even ~~endeavored~~^{endeavoured} to harbour and
protect those that deserted; I found my case desperate,
the longer I remained the worse it was. I plainly saw
that my Principal Design was baffled, I was resolved
to push to Kentucky with what men I could gather in
West Augusta; being joined by Capt. H. Bodman and
Belmont who had each raised a Compy. for the Expedition,
but two thirds of them were stopped by the underground
Enemies to the Country that I before mentioned. In the
whole I had about one hundred & fifty Men collected
and set sail for the Falls. — I had previous to this
received letters from Capt. Smith on Holderton informing
me that he intended to meet me at that place with
near two hundred Men, which encouraged me much
as I was in hopes of being enabled by that reinforce^t
at least to attack the Illinois with a probability of
success. —

Set out from Hedgesth Stone the 12 of May leaving
the Country in great confusion, much distressed by
the Indians General Hand, pleased with my
intention furnished me with every necessary I wanted
and the 15 of May I arrived at the Canoway to the Joy
of the Garrison as they were very weak, & had the day
before been attacked by a large Body of Indians.
Being joined by Capt. Channer Compt. on his way
to the Park, after spending a day or two, we set out
and had a very pleasant Voyage to the Falls of Ohio
having sent Express to the Stations on Kentucky
from the mouth of the River, for Capt. Smith to join
me immediately as I made no doubt but that
he was waiting for me; But you may easily guess
at my mortification on being informed that he had
not arrived; that all his Men had been stoped by the
instant labours of the populace, except part of a Compt.
that had arrived under the Command of one Capt. Tolson
some on their March ^{brought} threatened to be put into Prison if
they did not return; this information made me as
desperate as ever before determined.

Reflecting on the Information that I had from some of
my greatest opponents concerning the Governor for
his conduct, as they thought, ordering me for the
Protection of Kentucky only, that and some other

secret impulses occasioned me in spite of all Council
to rigue the Expedition to convince them of their error
until that moment, secret to the Principal Officers.
I had - I was sensible of the impression it would
have on many, to be taken near a thousand
from the Body of their Country to attack a People five
times their number, and merciless Tribes of Indians
their Allies and determined Enemies to us.
I knew that my cause was desperate, but the more I
reflected on my weakness the more I was pleased
with the Enterprize, Joined by a few of the Kentucky
ans, under Col^o. Montgomery to stop the ^{agitation} ~~sentence~~
~~I knew~~ would ensue on the Troops knowing
their ~~destiny~~ ^{destination} I had encamped on a small
Island in the middle of the Falls, kept strict Guards
on the Boats, but ~~one~~ ^{affair} Lieutenant Hutchings,
contrived to make his escape with his party after
being refused leave to return, luckily a few of his
Men was taken the next day by a Party sent after
them; on this Island I first began to discipline
my little Army knowing that to be the most
essential point towards ~~succes~~ most of them
determined to follow me, the next seeing no probability
of making their escape I soon got that subordina-
tion as I could wish for; about twenty families
that had followed me much against my

should immediately enjoy all the privileges of our
Government, and their property secured to them
that it ~~was only to~~^{was only to} stop the further effusion of Innocent
Blood by the savages under the influence of their
Governour, that made them an object of our attention
~~and~~ no sooner had they heard this than Joy sparkled
in their Eyes and fell into transports of Joy that really
surprised me; as soon as they were a little moderated
they told me that they had always been kept in the
dark as to the dispute between America & Britain
that they had never heard any thing before but what
was prejudicial and tended to incense them against
the Americans, that they were now convinced that
it was a cause that ~~it was a cause that~~ they ought
to espouse, that they should be happy of an
opportunity to convince me of their Zeal, and
think themselves the happiest People in the
World if they were united with the Americans
and beg'd that I would receive what said ~~what they~~
~~wish~~^(opposite party) their real sentiments in order to be more
certain of their ~~reassurance~~^{reassurance} vicinity, I told them
that an Oath of Fidelity was required from the Citizens
and to give them time to reflect on it, I should
not administer it for a few days in the mean time
any of them that choose, was at liberty to leave
the Country with their Families, except two or

we started might be seen in many places for ~~several~~
miles, nothing extraordinary happened during our
route excepting my guide loosing himself and not
being able, as we judged by his confusion of giving a
just account of himself; It put the whole Troop in
the greatest confusion. I never in my life felt such
a glow of rage to be wandering in a Country where
every Nation of Indians could raise three, or four
times our Number, and a certain loss of our enterprise
by the Enemis getting timely notice. I could not bear
the thoughts of returning; in short every idea of the sort
severed to put me in that passion that I did not
master for sometime; but in a short time after our
moment determined to put the guide to Death if he
did not find his way that Evening; I told him his
doom, the poor fellow scared almost to Death out of his
wits, begged that I would stay a while where I was
and suffer him to go and make some discovery of
a road that could not be far from us, which I would
not suffer for fear of not seeing him again, but ordered
him to lead on the party, that his fate depended on
his success; after some little pause he begged that
I would not be hard with him, that he could find the
path that Evening; He accordingly took his course
and in two hours got within his knowledge;

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On the Evening of the 4th July we got within three miles of the Town Karkaskian, having a River of the same name to cross to the Town; After making ourselves ready for any thing that might happen, we marched after night to a Farm that was on the same side of the River about a mile above the Town, took the family Prisoners, & found plenty of Boats to cross in; and in two hours transported ourselves to the other shore with the greatest silence. I learned that they had some suspicion of being attacked and had made some preparations, keeping out Spies, but they making no discoveries, had got off their Guards. I immediately divided my little Army into two Divisions ordered one to surround the Town, with the other I broke into the Fort, viewed the Governor M. Kochblaw in 15 minutes had every Street secured, sent Runners through the Town ordering the People on the spur of Death to keep close to their Houses, which they observed and before day light had the whole disarmed; nothing could equal the confusion these People seemed to be in, being taught to expect nothing but savage treatment from the Americans, giving all for los! their Lives were all they could dare beg for, which they did with the greatest fervency; They were willing to be Slaves to save their Families.

I told them it did not wait me to give them an answer at that time; they repaired to their houses trembling as if they were led to Execution; my principal would not suffer me to distract such a number of ~~foolish~~ People, except, through policy it was necessary; a little reflection convinced me that it was my Interest to attack them to me, according to my first Plan; for the Town of Coos & St. Vincent's and the numerous Tribes of Indians attached to the French was yet to influence, for I was ~~so~~ weak to tell them any other way; I went for all the Principal Men of the Town who came in as if to a Tribunal that was to determine their fate forever burning their Fortune that they were not apprised of our time enough to have defended themselves: I told them that I was sorry to find that they ~~were~~ had been taught to harbour no love an opinion of the Americans and their cause: Explained the nature of the dispute to them in as clear a light as I was capable of, it was certain that they were a Conquered People and by the date of War was at my mercy and that our principal was to make those we reduced free instead of enslaving them as they imagined, that if I could have security of their Health and Attachment to the American Cause, ~~but~~ they

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should immediately enjoy all the privileges of our Government, and their property secured to them that it ~~was only to~~ stop the further effusion of Innocent Blood by the savages under the influence of their Governor, that made them an object of our attention & no sooner had they heard this than Joy sparkled in their Eyes and fell into transports of Joy that really surprised me; as soon as they were a little moderated they told me that they had always been kept in the dark as to the dispute between America & Britain that they had never heard any thing before but what was prejudicial and tended to incense them against the Americans, that they were now convinced that it was a cause that it was a cause that they ought to espouse, that they should be happy of an opportunity to convince me of their Zeal, and think themselves the happiest people in the World if they were united with the Americans and beg'd that I would receive what said ~~what they~~ ^{expeditiously} in their real sentiments in order to be more certain of their ~~readiness~~ vicinity, I told them that an Oath of Fidelity was required from the Citizens and to give them time to reflect on it, I should not Administer it for a few days in the mean time any of ~~them~~ that chose, was at liberty to leave the Country with their Families, except two or

three particular Towns, that they might repair to
their families and conduct themselves as usual
without any dread. The Priest that had lately
come from Canada had made himself a little
acquainted with our dispute; Contrary to the principle
of his Brother in Canada) was rather prejudiced in
favour of us. He asked if I would give him liberty
to perform his duty in his Church I told him that
I had nothing to do with Churches more than to
defend them from insult. That by the laws of the
State his Religion had as great Prevalence as
any other. This seem'd to compleat their happiness.
They returned to their families, and in a few
Minutes the ocean of mourning and distress, was
turned to an excess of Joy, nothing else seen or
heard - Adorning the Streets with Flowers &
Pavilions of different colours, completing their
happiness by singing &c. In mean time I prepar'd
a Detachment on Howe back under Capt Bowman
to make a Descent on Cohos, about sixty miles up
the Country, the Inhabitants told me that one of
their Townsmen was enough to put me in
possession of that place, by carrying the good news
that the People would rejoice. however I did not
altogether chuse to trust them, dispatched the

Captain, attended by a considerable number of the
Inhabitants who got into the middle of the Town
before they were discovered, the French Gentlemen
calling aloud to the People to submit to their
happier fate, which they did with very little
hesitation: A number of Indians being in Town,
on hearing of the Big Knives, immediately made
their escape; In a few days the Inhabitants of
the Country took the Oath Subscribed by Law;
and every Person appeared to be happy; Our friends
the Spaniards, doing every thing in their power
to convince me of their friendship. a Correspondance
immediately commenced between the Governor
and myself. Post St Vincent, a Town about the
size of Williamsburg was the next Object in my
view, As the whole was apprised of me, I was by
no means able to march against it (Their
Governor a few months before going to Destroy it)
I was resolved if possible to win their affection
which I thought myself in a fair way of doing
more fully to know the sentiments of the
Inhabitants about there, And to execute my
Plans I pretended to that I was about to send
an Express to the Falls of Ohio for a Body of
Troops to join me at a certain place in order

To attack it, it soon had the desired effect & was all
immediately apparent & heard among the people
in their behalf. Mr. Jebeth, the Priest, so fully
convinced me of his attachment offered to under-
take to win that

Town for me if I would permit
him and let a few of them go; they made no
doubt of gaining their friends at St. Vincent
to my interest, the Priest told me he would go him-
self, and gave me to understand, that although he
had nothing to do with temporal business, that he
would give them such hints in the spiritual way
that would be very conducive to the business.
In a few days the Priest, Doct^r. Lefort, the Principal,
with a few others set out, and a Proclamation I
sent, for that purpose, and other instructions in
case of success. In a few weeks they returned with
intelligence agreeable to my wishes. I now found
myself in possession of the whole, in a country
where I found I could do more real service than
I expected; which occasioned my situation to
be the more disagreeable as I wanted men.

The greatest part of my men were for returning,
as they were no longer ~~of~~ surrounded by numerous
nations of savages, whose minds had been long poisoned
by the English. It was with difficulty that I could

Suppose that Dignity that was necessary to give my orders
that force that was necessary ~~to~~ ~~to~~
~~people~~, but by great foreavents and promises I got
about one hundred of my Detachment Enlisted for eight
months, and to colour my staying with so few Troops,
I made a faint of returning to the Falls, as though
I had sufficient confidence in the People, hoping that
the Inhabitants would remonstrate against my
leaving them, which they did in the warmest terms
proving the necessity of the Troops at that place
that they were afraid if I returned the English
would again possess the Country. Then by their
request I agreed to stay with two Companies of
Troops, and that I hardly thought, as they alledged
that so many was necessary, but if more was wanted
I could get them at any time from the Falls, where
they were made to believe was a Considerable
Garrison. As soon as possible sent off those that
could not be got to stay, with M^r. Stockblanch, and
Letter to his Excellency letting him know my
situation and the necessity of Troops in the Country
Many of the French ^{and} ~~and~~ of the service, the different
Companies soon got compleat. I stationed Capt.
Bowman at Cohoes, Capt. Helms Com^t at St. Vincent's
Superintendent of Domestic affairs being

partly well settled the Indian Department came
the next object of my attention and of the greatest
importance, my sudden appearance in their
Country put them under the greatest consternation
they were generally at war against us, but the French
and Spaniards appearing so long as we confined
them, they counseled with the French traders to
know what was best to be done, and of course was
advised to come and solicit for peace, and did not
doubt but we might be good Friends, it may appear
otherwise to you, but always thought we took the wrong
method of treating with Indians, and strove as soon
as possible to make myself acquainted with the
French and Spanish mode which must be
preferable to ours, otherwise they could not possibly
have such great influence among them; when
thoroughly acquainted with it exactly coincided
with my own idea, and resolved to follow that same
rule as near as Circumstances would permit, the
Kashawhia Peocanae Meekegamee immediately
treated for peace; I sent letter and speaker by Capt
Helson to the Chief of the Kickebue & Peankershaws
residing at Post St. Vincent desiring them to lay down
their Tomahawk, and if they did not choose it
to behave like Men and fight for the English as they
had done; but they would see their great Father

as they called him given to the Dogs is eat gave Harsh
language to supply the want often; well
knowing that it was a mistaken notion in many
that soft speeches was best for Indians.) But if
they thought of giving their hands to the Bigknives
to give their hearts also, and that I did not doubt—
but after being acquainted, that they would find
that the Bigknives of better principals than what
the bad Birds, the English had taught them to
believe. They received the speeches from the
Capt. with another of his own, and after some
consultation they resolved to take the Big-
knives by the hand and came to a conclusion
of peace. And said the Americans must be
Warriors and no deceivers, or they would never
have spoke as they did; that they liked such
People, and that the English were liars and they
would listen to them no longer; that by what
they had heard of the Bigknives, the Indians
had a great right to fight the English as they
had, that they was convinced that it was the
truth. What they alluded to war, part of the
speech that I had sent to them, explaining to
them the nature of the War, in the following
manner. That a great many years ago, our

Longfellow lived in England, but the King oppressed
them in such a manner that they were obliged to
cross the great Water to get out of his way. But he
not being satisfied to loose so many subjects
sent Governors and Soldiers among them to
make them obey his Laws, but told his Governors
to treat them well and ~~not~~ to take but little from
them until they grew populous, that then they
would be able to pay a great deal; By the good
treatment we got, we grew to be a great People
and flourished fast. The King then wrote to
his Governor & Officers that we had got sick
and numerous enough, that it was time to make
a pay tribute, that he did not care how much they
took, so as they left us enough to eat, and that
he had sent them a great many Soldiers to make
the Americans pay if they refused, that when they
had made the Americans do as they pleased, they
would then make the Indians pay likewise;
But for fear the Indians should find it out by
the Big Knives that the English intended to make
them also pay, & should get mad with the English
for their treatment to their Neighbors the Big-
Knives, that they, his Governors should make
a Quarrel for We bore their Taxes for many

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years, at last they were so hard that if we killed a Deer they would take the skin away and leave us only the Meat, and made us buy Blankets with Corn to lead their soldiers with. By such usage we got poor and was obliged to go naked; And at last we complained. The King got mad and made his soldiers Kill some of our people and Burn some of our Villages. The Old Men then held a great Council and made the Tomahawk very sharp and put it into the hand of the Young Men, told them to be strong & strike the English as long as they could find one on this Island. They immediately struck and killed a great many of the English. The French King hearing of it sent to the Americans and told them to be strong and fight the English like Men; that if they wanted help or Tomahawks he would furnish them &c &c

This Speech had a greater effect than I could have imagined, and did more service than a Regiment of Men could have done.

It was with astonishment that viewed the number of savages that soon flock'd into the Town of Soho to treat for peace, and to hear what the Big Knives had to say many of them 500 miles distant
Chippewas, Ottawas, Petawatomies, Mississogies and a number of Sioux, Iauchs, Foxes, Sauks

Tanways, Maisnier and a number of other Nations
all living east of the Mississippi, and many of them
then at War against us. I must confess that I was
under some apprehension among ~~unrest~~
such a number of Devils, and it proved to be just.
For the second or third night, a party of Indians &
others endeavoured to force by the Guards into my
Bodyings to bear me off, but was happily
detected and made ~~prisoners~~ by the elasticity
of the Sergeant. The Town took the alarm and was
immediately under Arms which convinced the
savages that the French were in our Interest.
I was determined to follow the Principal that
I had had set out upon, let the consequence be
what it would. I immediately ordered the
chiefs to be put into Town by the French Militia.
They insisted that it was only to see whether
the French would take part with the Americans
or not, that they had no ill Design. The treatment
of some of the greatest chiefs among them,
caused great confusion among the rest of
the savages. The ~~Prisoners~~, with great submit-
tion elicited to speak to me, but was refused.
They then made all the interest they possibly
could amongst the ~~rest~~ other Indians who
was much at a loss what to do as there was
strong Guards through every Quarter of the

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Town) to get so speak to me; but I told them whole
that I believed they were a set of Villians, that
they had joined the English, and they were
welcome to continue in the cause they had
espoused, that I was a Man and a Warrior:
that I did not care who was my Friend or Foe,^{F's}
and had none to say to them: such conduct
alarmed the whole Town: but I was sensible that
it would gain us no more enemies than we had
already, and if they after solicited for terms, that
it would be more sincere, and probably a
lasting good effect on the Indian Nations,
distress was visible in the countenance of
almost every Person during the latter part of
the day. To show the Indians that I disengaged
them, I remained in my Lodging in the Town
about one hundred yards from the fort seem-
ingly without a guard, but kept about fifty
Men concealed in a Parlour adjoining, and
the Garrison under Arms, there was great
counciling among the savages during the
night, But to make them have the greater
idea of my Indifference about them, I assembled
a Number of Gentlemen & Ladies, and dined
the whole night. In the morning I summoned
the different ^{opinion} to a grand Council, and the chief

under Guard released, and was invited to council
that I might speak to them whole them in presence
of the whole. After the common ceremony was
over, I produced a Bloody Belt of war from
and spoke to them in the following manner
I told the chief that was guilty, that I was
sensible their Nation was engaged in favour of the
English, and if they thought it right, I did not
blame them for it, and exhorted them to behave
like Men and support the cause they had
undertaken; that I was sensible that the English
was weak and wanted help; that I would so
take any advantage of them by persuading their
friends to desert them; that there was no People
but Americans, but would put them to death for
their late behaviour; That it convinced me of
their being my enemies. But it was beneath
the character of Americans to take such revenge
that they were at their liberty to do as they please'd
But to behave like Men, and not do any
mischief until three days after they left the Town
that I should have them excommunicate out of the
Village, and after that expiration of time, if they
did not choose to return and fight me, they might
find Americans enough by going farther,

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That if they did not want their own Women and
Children massacred, they must leave off killing ours
and only fight Men under Arms, which was commen-
table; that there was the War Belt, We should
soon see whoe which of us would make it the most
Bloody &c Then told them that it was customary
among all Brave Men to treat their Enemies well
when assembled as we were, that I should give
them Provisions & Dem while they stay, but by
their behaviour I could not conceive that they
deserved that appellation, and I did not care how
soon they left me after that Day. I observed that
their countenances and attitude favoured my real
design: the whole looked like a parcel of Criminals.
The other Nations rose and made many submissions
speaking excusing themselves for their conduct
in a very pretty manner and something noble in
their verbiage (their talk I inclose) they
alleged that they were persuaded to War by the
English, and made to harbour a wrong opinion
of the Americans, but they now believed them to
be Men and Warriors, and could wish to take them
by the hand as Brothers, that they did not speak
from their lips only, but that I should hereafter
find that they spoke from their Hearts, and that
they hoped I would pity their blindness and

their Women and Children; and also solicited for
their Friends that had been guilty of the late crime.
Told them that I had instructions from the Great
Man of the Big Knives not to ask Peace from
any People but to offer Peace and War, and let
them take their choice, except a few of the worst
Nation to whom I was to grant no Peace, for as
the English could fight we no longer he was
afraid our Young Warriors would get ready without
they could get somebody to fight &c I prevented
them with a Peace & War Belt and told them to
take their choice, excepting those who had
been Imprisoned. they with a great deal of running
Joy took the Belt of Peace. I told them I would
refer smoking the Peace Pipe until I heard that
they had called in all their Warriors, and then
we would conclude the Treaty with all the
Ceremony necessary for so important Occasion —
they immediately solicited for some Persons to go
with them to be witness of their Conduct, and
hoped that I would favour their Guilty Friends,
which I refused; and was pleased to see them set
tumbling, as persons lightned at the apprehension
of the worst fate. Their speaker then rose and
made a most lamentable speech, such as I could

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have wished for. Beging Mercy for their Women and
Children: for the French Gentlemen whom they put
the greatest confidence in had given them lessons that
favoured my Purpose. I recommended it to them to go
to their Father the English, as he had told them that
he was strong perhaps he might help them as he had
promised; that they could blame no person but themselves
when their Nation should be given with the English
to the Dogs to eat. When they had tried their Eloquence
to no purpose, they pitched on two young Men for to
be sent to Death as an attonement for the rest hoping
that would pacify me; It would have surprised
you to have seen how submissively those two young
Men presented themselves for Death, advancing into
the middle of the floor, setting down by each other and
covering their heads with their Blankets soe even the
Tomahawk (Dr) Peace was what I wanted with them if
I got it on my own terms) but this stroke Prejudiced me
in their favour, and for a few moments was so agitated
that I dont doubt but that I should without reflection
killed the first Man that would have offered to have
offered to have hurt them: My wishes respecting this
Treaty was now compleat; And I since find no room
to blame myself for any omission in what followed
and the Treaty: which time has already proved the
good effects of it throughout the Illinois Country

Our Influence now began to spread among the Nations
even to the Border of the Lakes. I sent Agents in every
Quarter, I continued about five weeks in the Town of
Cohos; in which time I had visited a peace with
ten or twelve ~~of the~~ different Nations.

Being much fatigued I returned to Parkashiar
leaving Major Bowman to act in which he did
himself much honour. An intimacy had
commenced between Don Leybanc ~~and myself~~
Lieut. Governor of Western Illinois and myself
he omitted nothing in his power to prove his
attachment to the Americans with such
openness as left no room for a doubt; as I was
never before in Compt^t. of any Spanish Gen^t.
I was much surprised in my expectations;
for instead of finding that reverse thought
peculiar to that Nation, there was not the
least symptom of it, freedom almost to excess
gave the greatest pleasure; at my return to
Parkashiar I found everything as well as I could
have expected. Having so far fixed matter as to
have a moments leisure which was taken up
with deeper reflections than I ever before was
acquainted with. My situation and weakness
convinced me that more depended on my own
behaviour and conduct, than all the Troops

that I had far removed from the Body of my
Country: situated among French, Spaniards
and Numerous Bands of Savages on every
Quarter: watching my Actions, ready to receive
impressions favorable or not so far which
might be hard to remove, and would perhaps
produce lasting good, or ill effects. It was now
that I saw my work was only began. naturally
examining every circumstance of my past Actions
fixing such Resolutions, that in case of misfortune
or loss of Interest, it should be for want of Judgment
only. Strict subordination among the Troops was
my first object, and soon effected it. It being a mat-
ter of the greatest consequence to persons in our
situation. Our Troops being all raw and undisci-
plined. You must sensible of the pleasure I
felt when haranguing with them on Parade.
Telling them my Resolutions, and the necessity
of strict duty for our own preservation &c
For them to return me for Answer, that it was
their zeal for their Country that induced them
to engage in the Service, that they were sensible
of their situation and Danger; that nothing could
conduce more to their safety and happiness than
good order, which they would try to adhere to

and hoped that no favour would be shown them
that would neglect it. In a short time perhaps
no Garrison could boast of better order, or a
more valuable set of men. By this time the
English party at Detroit, finding their influence
among the savages abating, sent out messenger,
through the different Nations as far as they dare
venture, redoubled their Pretexts and invinations
to little purpose; as I had a Number of Persons well
acquainted with the Indians, spread through the
whole that had treated with me, and were continu-
ally in and about Detroit for a considerable time.
One of the British Agents residing at Oueau about
eighty Leagues above St. Vincent's having growing
Interest much, the Indians in that Quarter being
inclined to desert the British Interest, but in some
measure kept from their good intention by that
Person. I resolved if possible to take him off, and
sent a Detachment of Men from Mackinac under
the Command of Lieut. Bailey to join Capt. Helm at
St. Vincent's and if possible surprise him; the Capt.
with about one hundred Men in number, half French
Militia and Indians, set out by water. The Agent
hearing of it collected a few savages from the neigh-
bourhood that he could trust in order to give Battle

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(the Indians in general Neutral) but a few days before the Captain arrived Mr. Collier thought proper to make his escape, leaving his friendly Indians in the Fort, who being Assembled in a Grand Council to determine what was best to be done, neglecting to shut the Gates or keep Sentinels (not supposing the Enemies to be so near) in the heat of their deliberation Capt. Palmer and his ^{Burgher} small Party entered the Fort and ordered them to surrender before they were apprised about forty in number being made Prisoners, the Capt. made a Valuable Treaty; gave them their Liberty, and this stroke complicated our Interest on the Wabash & St. Vincent being a Port of great Importance, and not being able to spare many Men to Garrison it took uncommon pains to entirely attack them to our Interest as well as the Inhabitants of the Illinois knowing no other kind of Government than what might be expected from the lust of Power, pride and avarice of the Officers Commanding in that Country whose will was a Law to the whole and certain destruction to disobey the most trifling Command. Nothing could have been more to my Advantage, as I could temper the Government as I pleased, and every new privilege appeared to them as fresh laurels to the American cause.

I by degrees laid aside every unnecessary Restriction
they laboured under. As I was convinced that
it was the mercenary views of their former
Governors that established them, paying no
regard to the happiness of the People, and those
Customs strictly observed that was most
conducive to good order; and I made it a
Point to guard the the happiness of the People
and Tranquility of the Inhabitants, supposing that their happy change reaching ^{the ears of} their
Brother and Country men on the Lake and about
Detroit, would be paving my way to that Place; and
a good Effect on the Indians. I soon found it had the
desired Effect; for the greatest part of the French Gen.
and Indian among the Indians declared for us many
Letters of congratulation, sent from Detroit to the Gen.
of the Illinois which gave me much pleasure ~
I let slip no opportunity, in cultivating our growing
Interest in every Quarter where there was the least
appearance of a future advantage, and had as
great Success as I had any right to expect. Great
tranquility appeared in every countenance, being apprehensive that the British Party at Detroit finding
it hard to regain their lost Interest among the

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Savages would probably make a descent on the Illinois if they found themselves capitated, for fear of their finding out our Numbers (parties often coming & going from Kentucky and other places recruits &c.) I suffered no damage except the guard for a considerable time, and took every other precaution to keep every Person ignorant of our numbers which was generally thought to be nearly double what we really had. I found that my Ideas respecting the movement of the English first, having certain Accounts by our Spies that Governor Hamilton was on his march ^{for} Detroit with a considerable Party, taking his route up the Starnier River. In a few days receiving certain intelligence that General M'Intosh had left Pittsburg for Detroit with a considerable Army. Knowing the weakness of the Fortification of that Post at that time their numbers &c. I made no doubt of its being shortly in our possession. And that Governor Hamilton, sensible that there was no probability of his defending the Fort, had marched with his whole force to encourage the Indians to harass the General on his March; as the only probable Plan to stop him. Little thinking

Thinking that He had returned, and Mr. Hambleton
had the same design on me, that I supposed he had
at General McIntosh. It being near Christmas we
feasted ourselves with the hopes of immediately hearing
from Detroit, and began to think that we had been
neglected in an express (not being) sent with the import-
ant news of its being ours. But a circumstance soon
happened that convinced us that our hopes were vain.
A young Man at the Town of Cohoe holding a Convoca-
tion and rendering Intelligence to Governor Hambleton,
Party was detected & punisched accordingly. By which
we learned the return of General McIntosh, and Gover-
nor Hambleton's Intentions on the Illinois, ^{not} Expressly
expressed in the latter as to reduce it to a certainty;
but supposing that in case of its being true
they would make their first Descent on Mackinac;
It being the strongest Garrison and head Quarter,
I kept Spies on all the Roads, to no Purpose, Mr.
Hamilton having the Advantage of Descending
the Caback with eight hundred Men French,
Indians nd Regulars, took possession of Fort St.
Vincent on the 17th day of Decem^r he had Parties
on the Road that took some of our Spies as

more hard weather immediately setting in I was
at a loss to know what to do, many supposed that
he had quit his design and came no farther than
One. But no intelligence from St. Vincent. I was
still under some doubt of his being there, except
the Com^D had kept back the Express on account of the
High waters. In this situation we remained for many
Days. I intended to evacuate the Garrison of
Sohos in case of a siege; But was anxious to have
a conference with the Principal Inhabitants of
that I knew to be zealous in our Interest, so I lay on
certain Plans for their conduct when in possession
of the English, if it should be the case; And set
out on the day of Janu^ry 3^r 779 for that Town
with an Intention of staying but a few days —

Mr. Hammilton in mean time had sent a party
of 40 savages headed by white Men from St. Vincent
in order if possible to take me prisoner, and gave
such Instructions for my treatment as did him
no dishonour. This Party lay concealed keeping a
small Party near the Road to see who passed; they
lay by a small Branch about three miles from
Rashashia, their being known on the Ground,

I had a Guard of about six or seven Men and a few Gent. in Chairs, one of them swampt within one hundred Yards of the Place where these fellows lay hid, where we had to delay ~~awa~~wards of an hour. I believe nothing here saved me, but the Instruction they had, not to Kill me or the fear of being over powered, not having an opportunity to alarm the main Body which lay half a mile off without being discovered by themselves. We arrived safe at the Town of Lapitan ^{about} twelve miles above Hawkshawas ^{St.} The Gentlemen & Ladies immediately assembled at a Ball for our Entertainment, we spent the forepart of the night very agreeably, but about 12 O'clock there was a very sudden change by an Express Arriving informing us that Governor Hammilton was within three miles of Hawkshawas with eight hundred Men, and was determined to attack the Fort that night, which was expected would be before the Express got to me, for it seems that those fellows were diverted by a hunter and after missing their aim on me, discovered themselves to a Party of Negroes and told them a story as suited their purpose. I never saw greater confusion among a small Assembly than was at that time, every person having their eyes on me, as if my word was to determine their good or evil fate. It required but

a moments hesitation in me to gain my Revolution. Communicated them to two of my Officers that accompted me, which they Approved of. I ordered our Horse Saddled in order if possible, to get into the Fort before the Attack could be made. Two of ^{the} Company that had recovered their Surprise so far as to enable them to speak, begged of me not to attempt to return, that the Town was certainly in possession of the Enemy & the Fort warmly Attacked. Some proposed conveying me to the Spanish Shore; some one thing and some another. I thanked them for the care they had of my Person, and told them it was the fate of War. That a good Soldier never ought to be afraid of his Life where there was a Probability of his doing service by venturing of it which was my Case. That I hoped that they would not let the news spoil our Division sooner than was necessary, that we would divest ourselves until our horses was ready, forced them to dance and endeavoured to appear as unconcerned as if no such thing was in agitation. This conduct inspired the Young Men in such a manner that many of them was getting their Horses to share late with me. But chusing to loose no time as soon as I could write a few lines on the back of my Letter to Captain Bowman at Cohos. I set out for Kaskaskia each Man a Blanket, that in case the Fort was attacked

We were to wrap ourselves in them fall in with
the Enemies fire at the Fort until we had an oppor-
tunity of getting so near as to give the proper signals,
knowing that we should be let in. But on our Arri-
val we found every thing as calm as we could
expect. The weather being bad, it was then thought
the Attack would not commence until it cleared up.
But no Person seemed to doubt of the Enemies
being at hand, and from many circumstances
I could not but suppose it was the case, ~~and~~ that
they deford the Attack for some time in order to
give us time to Retreat, which I supposed they would
rather have by their prouding; But I was determined
that they should be disappointed if that was their
wishes. There was no time lost during the Night putting
every thing in as good order as possible. The ^{Dr} Fuerst, of
all Men the most afraid of Mr. Hammitton, he was
in the greatest consternation, ~~and~~ ^{so let him know well to his care} determined to
act agreeable to my Instruction. I found by his
consternation that he was sure the Fort would be
taken, Except reinforced by the Garrison at Cohos
which I did not chuse, although I knew him to
be a treacherous Friend. I pretended that I wanted him
to go to the Spanish side with Bullock, Daperard
Money. The Proposition please'd him well, he

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immediately started of getting into an Island the
Ice being so thick down the Mississippi, that he
was obliged to Recamp three days in the most obscure
part of the Island with only a Servant to attend him
I spent many serious reflections during the night.
The Inhabitants had always appeared to be attached
to us: but I was convinced that I should in the morning
have a sufficient trial of their Fidelity. several of their
Young Men had turned into the Fort in order to
defend it; but sensible at the same time that in case
they took Arms to defend the Town that the whole
would probably be lost, as I should be obliged to give
the Enemy Battle in the Commons. I would have
chos'd to have had those without Families to reinforce
the Garrison, and the rest to have lain Neutral —
I resolved to burn part of the Town that was near the
Fort and guard it, as I knew the greatest service we
possibly could do, was to sell the Fort as dear as possi-
ble; there being no probability of escaping after
Attack, or expectation of Reinforcement, as we were
too far detached from the Body of our Country. The
only probable chance of safety was Capt. Bowman's
joining me which I expected the next evening down
the Mississippi, to defend ourselves until Mr. Hamilton's
Indians got tired and returned in four or five
weeks.

Weeks which I expected the greatest Part of them
had not that success that they expected. I had no
occasion to consult the Garrison in any Revolution
I should lay upon as I knew that they were all as
spirited as I could wish them to be, and took pains
to make ~~them~~^{them} as desperate as possible. If you rightly
consider our situation & circumstance, you must
conceive it to be desperate; on the morning the first
thing I did was to assemble all the Inhabitants in order
to know their resolutions, as they had been the night
counciling with each other they expected orders
I issued which I did not chuse to do; at the Assembly I
asked them what they thought of doing, whether they
would endeavour to defend the Town or not, if they did
I would quit the Fort leaving a small Guard, and
lead them with the Troops, and if the Enemy lay until
the weather broke, we might probably in the mean
time discover their Camp and get some advantage
of them. They appear'd to be in great confusion, and all
my fear was, that they would agree to defend them-
selves, and if the Enemy was as numerous as was
expected the whole would be lost. But I need not have
been afraid uneasy about that, for they had so
^{natural} ^{meditately} studied their own Interest to think of fight-
ing, which they certainly would have done if I had

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only as many Troops as would have given any Probability of success. They displayed their situation in such a manner as was really moving and with great truth. But denied to act either on one side or the other; And begged that I would believe them to be in the American Interest. But my whole force joined with them would make but a poor figure against so considerable a Party and gave hints that they could wish us to take Spanish Protection as they could not conceive we could keep possession a single day as the Enemy would immediately set the adjacent Houses on fire which would give the Fort (not knowing that I intended to burn them myself as soon as the wind shifted.) I very seldom found but I could govern my temper at pleasure. But their declaration of theirs and some other Circumstances put me in a most violent rage, and as soon as I could curb my Passion gave a Lecture suitable for a set of traitors (although I could not conceive the whole of them to be such) I ordered them out of the Garrison, and told them that I no longer thought they deserved favour from me, that I consequently must conceive them to be my worst Enemies and should treat them as such. They endeavoured toooth me into pity, but so have listned to them would have destroyed my intention. I determined to make myself appear them as desperate as possible that it might have a greater effect on the Enemy (They asked me

to issue an order for all the Provision in the Town to be brought into the Fort immediately, by which I was convinced that it was their desire that I should be able to stand there long as possible, and only wanted an excuse to have them they expected every moment to be their Master (for making the supplies) I told them that I would have all the Provisions and then burn the Town to the Enemies hand; that they might vend the Provision if they chose it, and vent them out of the Fort and immediately had given set to come out Flares; Never was a set of People in more distress, their Town set on fire by those that they wished to be in friendship with, at the same time surrounded by the Savages, as they expected. That they had but little else but destruction to expect, the Flares being covered with Snow, the Fire had no effect only on those it was set to, the Inhabitants looking on without daring to say a word. I told them that I intended to set fire to all those that had much Provision for fear of the Enemies getting it. They were not in so great a Scattery, but they took the hint and before night they brought in six months Provisions of all sorts; by which they were in hopes to come on better Times: but a fresh Circumstance alarmed them, One of the Inhabitants

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Inhabitants ~~dwelling~~ ^{going} into the Field met a Man that told him he saw a Party of the Enemy going on the Island to take the Fort, he returning to Town met the Priest Brother in Law and told him what he had heard, and begged of him not to tell me of it the Poor Fellow half scared to death about his Brother, made all haste and told me. I took his Evidence, went for the Citizen who could not deny it. Immediately ordered him hanged. The Town took the Alarm hastened about the walls of the Fort, if possible to save their Friend. The Poor Fellow given up to the Soldiers who dragged him to the place of Execution, each striving to be foremost in the Execution as if they thirsted after Blood: some was for Tomahawking him, some for hanging & others for Burning: they got to juggling about it, which at last saved his life; the Inhabitants having time to supplicate ~~for him~~ in his favor, but nothing would have saved his life but the appearance of his Wife and seven small Children, which sight was too moving not to have granted them the life of their Parent on terms that put it out of his power to do any damage to me. The weather bearing away Capt^t Bowman arrived the following day with his own and a company of Volunteers from Cohos, we now began to make a tolerable appearance and seemed to defy the Enemy: and sent out spies on every

from

Quarter to make discovery of them hoping
we might get some advantage of them, chusing
for many important Reasons to attack them two
to one in the Field rather than suffer ~~and~~ them
take possession of the Town, which by the form and
manner of Trageting the Yards and Gardens was very
strong I was convinced that the Inhabitants now
wished that they had behaved in another manner
I took the advantage of the favourable opportunity to
attack them intirely in my Interest, and instead of
treating them more severe as they expected on my
being reinforced. I altered my conduct towards them
and treated them with the greatest kindness, granting
them every request ~~and~~ by my influence among
them, in a few hours was greater than ever; they
condemning themselves and thought that I had
treated them as they deserved, and I believe, had
~~Mr~~ Hamilton afraid we should have defeated
him with a good deal of ease not so numerous but
the men being much better. Our Spies returning, and
found the ^{first} Army ~~that~~ gave the alarm consisted only
of about forty Whites and Indians making their
retreat as fast as possible to St Vincent, went for
no other purpose as we found after but to take
me. We were now sensible that St Vincent's

was in possession of the English; and consequently
we might wholly expect an Attack though no danger
at present, and ^{had} sometime to make preparation for
what we were certain of. I had reason to expect a
Reinforcement on the presumption that Government
ordered one on the Receipt of my First Letter; still
encouraged each other and hoped for the best: But
suffered more uneasiness than when I was certain
of an immediate Attack, as I had more time to
reflect. the Result of which was that the Illinois
in a few months would be in possession of the English
except the Garrison which I knew would not
be disposed to surrender without the greatest distress.
I sent off the Howmen to St Vincent to take a
Prisoner by which we might get intelligence, but
found it impracticable on account of the high
water, ^{but} in the night of our anxiety on the evening of
the 29th of Jan'y. 1779 M^r Vague a Spanish
Merchant arrived from St. Vincent, and was there
the time of its being taken, and gave me every
Intelligence that I could wish to have. Governor
Hamilton's Party consisted of about eight hundred
when he took possession of that Port, on the 17th
day of December past. Finding the season so far

spent for his intention against the ⁵ ~~Indians~~ Ia
had sent nearly the whole of his Indians out in
different Parties to War. But to nobody as soon
as the weather would permit and complete his
design: He had also sent messengers to the south-
ern Indians, five hundred of whom he expected
to join him, only eighty Troops in Garrison (our
situation still appeared desperate, it was at this
moment I would have bound myself even year
a Slave, to have had five hundred Troops) I saw
the only probability of our maintaining the Country was
to take the advantage of his present weakness, per-
haps we might be fortunate: I considered the
Inclivity of the season, the badness of the
Roads &c as an advantage to us, as they would be
now off their Guard on all Quarters. I collected the
Officers, told them the probability I thought then
was of turning the scale in our favour: I found
it the sentiment of every one of them and eager
for it. Our Plan immediately concluded on, and sent
An Express to Cohoe for the return of Capt. McCarty &
his ^{Volunteers}, and set about the necessary preparation
(in order to transport my Artillery Stores &c)

I had a Large Boat prepared and Rigged mounting
two Four pounders; ^{and two large swivels}; manned with a fine Compy.
Commanded by Lieut. Rogers. She set out in the evening
of the 4th of Jan^r. with orders to force her way if possible
within ten Leagues of St. Vincent and lay until further
orders. This Vessel whom Compleat was much admired
by the Inhabitants as no such thing had been seen in
the Country before. I had great Expectations from her
I conducted myself ~~like a General~~ as though I was
sure of taking Mr. Hamilton, instructed my Offi-
cers to observe the same Rule. In a day or two the
Country seemed to believe it, many anxious to Retri-
eve their Characters turned out, the Ladies began
also to be spirited and interest themselves in the
Expedition, which had great Effect on the young men
By the 4th day of Jan^r I got everything Compleat
and on the 5th I marched being joined by two
Volunteer Compts. of the Principal Young Men of
the Illinois Command^d by Capt. McCarthy & Francis
Charlville. Head of the Troops was Capt. M. Bowman
& William Worthington of the light Horse. we were
Conducted out of the Town by the Inhabitants and
Mr. Gibbons the Priest, who after a very suitable

Discouraged to the purpose, gave us all Absolution
And we set out on a foolish hope indeed; for our whole
Party with the Boats now consisted of only a little
upwards of two hundred. I cannot account for it
but I still had inward assurance of success; and
never could when weighing every Circumstance
doubt it. But I had some secret check. We had no
ups a Flot before us of two hundred and ~~forty~~^{forty} miles
in Length, through, I suppose, the most beautif.
Country in the world, ~~but at~~ ^{one of} this times in many
parts flowing with water and spreading bad
marching. my greatest care was to divert
the Men as much as possible in order to
keep up their spirits, the first obstruction
of any consequence that happened to me I
met with ^{was on} the 13th. Arriving at the
two little Wabashas although three miles
asunder they now make but one, the flooded water
between them being at least three feet deep, and in
many places four: Being near five miles to the
opposite Hills, the shallowest place, except about one
hundred yards was three feet ~~deep~~. This would have
stoped been enough to have stoped any set of men
that were not in the same temper that we were

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But in three days we continued to cross, by building a
large Canoe, ferried across the two channels, the rest
of the way we waded; Building scaffolds at each to
lodge our baggage on until the River ^{had} crossed ~~to take~~
take them; it rained nearly a third of our March; but
we never halted for it; In the evening of the 17th we
got to the low Lands of the River Lumber which we found
deep in water, it being nine miles to St. Vincenter
which stood on the East side of the Malache and
every foot of the way covered with deep water; we
Marched down ~~in~~ ^{St.} the little River in order
to gain the Banks of the main ~~River~~ which we did
in about three Leagues, made a small Canoe and
sent an Express to meet the Boat and hury it up
from the spot we now lay on was about ten miles to
Town, and every foot of the way put together that
was not three feet and upwards under water would
not have made the length of two miles and half
and not a mouthful of provision; so have waited for our
Boats if possible to avoid it, would have been impolite
If I was sensible that you would let no favour in
this relation I would give you a detail of our suffering
for four days in crossing those waters, and the
manner it was done; as I am sure that you would
credit it, but it is too incredible for any Person

To believe except those that are as well acquainted
with me as you are, or had experienced something
similar to it I hope you will excuse me until I have
the pleasure of seeing you personally. But I can
express no preferable joy in the evening of the 23rd we got
safe on Terra Firme within half a League of the
Fort, covered by a small Grove of trees had a
full view of the wished for spot (I should have
crossed at a greater distance from the Town but
the White River coming in just below us we
were afraid of getting too near it) we had
already taken some prisoners that was coming
from the Town: laying in this Grove sometime
to dry our clothes by the Sun we took another
Prisoner known to be a friend by which we got
all the intelligence we wished for: but would
not suffer him to see our troops except a few
A thousand ideas flushed in my Head at this moment
I found that Gov^r Hamilton was able to defend
himself for a considerable time, but knew that he
was not able to turn out of the Fort, that if the siege
continued long a superior number might come
against us, as I knew there was a party of English
not far above in the River: that if they found our
Numbers might raise the disaffected

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Savages and savagery. I resolved to appear as
daring as possible, that the Enemy might conceive
by our behaviour that we were very numerous and
probably discourage them. I immediately wrote to
the Inhabitants in general. Informing them where
I was and what I determined to do, incuring the
Friends to the States to keep close in their houses
those in the British Interest to repair to the fort
and fight for their King; otherwise there should
be no mercy shewn them. Gt. & H. sending the
compliments of several Officers that was known to be
expected to reinforce me, to several Gentlemen of the
Town: I dispatched the Prisoner off with this letter
waiting until near sunset, giving him time to get
near the Town before we marched. As it was an
open plain from the Wood that covered us, I march'd
time enough to be seen from the Town before dark
but taking advantage of the Land, disposed the
lines in such a manner that nothing but the
pavilions could be seen, having as many of them
as would be sufficient for a thousand men,
which was observed by the Inhabitants, who had
just receiv'd my letter counted the different
Colours and judged of our number accordingly
but

But I was careful to give them no opportunity of
seeing our Troops before dark, which it would be before
we could arrive. The Snow obstructed the Posts
obscuring us and were not Allarmed or suspected
by many of the Inhabitants. I detached Party to
Attack the Fort at a certain Signal, and took
possession of the strongest Post of the Town with
the main Body. The Garrison had so little suspicion
of what was to happen that they did not believe the
Firing was from the Enemy, until a Man was
Wounded through the Posts, (which hapned the
Third or Fourth shot) Expecting it to be some dumb
Indian. The firing commenced on both sides
very warm and a second Division joined the first.
A considerable number of British Indians made
their escape out of Town. The Hockenos and Bear
Bushaws to the amount of about one hundred
were in Town immediately Armed themselves in
our favour and Marched to attack the Fort. I
thanked the Chief for his intended service, told
him the ill consequence of our People being mustered
in the dark; that they might lay in their Quarters
until light. he Approved of it and went off his Hook
appeared to be much elevated himself and staid
with me giving all the Information he could.

I knew

(I knew him to be a friend) The Artillery from the
Fort played briskly but did no execution. The
Garrison was entirely surrounded within eighty
and a hundred yards behind houses, Paling's and
Ditches &c. &c. Never was a heavier firing kept
up between on both sides for eighteen hours with
so little damage done. In a few hours I found
my frize run, certain of taking every Man
that I could have wished for, being the whole
of those that invited the Indians to war: all my
past suffering vanished: never was a Man more
happy. It wanted no encouragement from any
Officer to inflame our Troops with a Martial
Spirit. The knowledge of the Person they attacked
and the thoughts of their massacred friends was
sufficient. I knew that I could not afford to loose
Men, and took the greatest care of them that I
possibly could: at the same time encouraged them
to be daring, but prudent. every place near the Fort
that could cover them was crowded, and a very heavy
firing during the Night, having flung up a consider-
able Intrenchment before the gate where I intended
to plant my Artillery when arrived. I had learnt that
one Masonville had arrived that ~~last~~^{evening} with
two prisoners taken on the Ohio discovering some

sign of us, supposed to be spies from Kentucky
immediately on his arrival Capt. Semple went out to
intercept them; being out on our arrival could not
gain the Fort, in attempting several of his men
was made Prisoners, himself and party however
round the Town; I was convinced that they would
make off to the Indians at day break if they could
not join their Friends; finding all endeavour
fruitless to take him I withdrew the Troops a little
before from the Garrison in order to give him an
opportunity to get in which he did much to his
credit and my satisfaction: as I would rather
~~that~~ it should receive that reinforcement, than they
should be at Large among the Savages. The firing
again commenced, A number of the Inhabitants
joining the Troops & behaved exceedingly well in
General, knowing of the Prisoners lately taken
and by the description I had of them I was sure
of their being the Express from Williamsburg
(but was mistaken) so ~~saw~~ the papers and
Letters, about Eight o'clock in the morning I
ordered the firing to cease and sent a Flag into
the Garrison with a hand Bill recommended
Mr. Hamilton to surrender his Garrison &
severe threats if he should destroy any Letters &c

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He returned an Answer to this purpose, that the Garrison was not disposed to be awed into any thing unbecoming British Soldiers: The Attack was renewed with greater Vigour than ever and continued for about two hours, I was determined to listen to no terms whatever until I was in possession of the Fort, and only meant to keep them in Action with part of my Troops, while I was making necessary preparations with the other (neglected calling on any of the Inhabitants for Assistants although they wished for it) A Flag appeared from the Fort with a Proposition from Mr. Hamilton for three days cessation - A desire of a conference with me immediately, that if I should make any difficulty of coming into the Fort, he would meet me at the Gate. At first I had no notion of listening to any thing he had to say as I could only consider himself & Officers as Murderers, and Gods intended to treat them as such: but after some deliberation I sent Mr. Hamilton my compliments, and begged leave to inform Mr. Hamilton him that I should agree to no other terms than his surrendering himself and Garrison prisoners at discretion; but if he was desirous of a conference with me I would

55 would meet him at the Church. He accordingly met, he offered to surrender but we could not agree upon terms. He recused such treatment on this Conference as a Man of his known Barbarity deserved I would not come upon terms with him, recommend'd to him to defend himself with spirit and Bravery, that it was the only thing that would induce me to treat him and his Garrison with lenity in case I informed it which he might expect. He asked me what more ^{I could} require than he had the offer he had already made I told him (which was really the truth) that I wanted a sufficient excuse to put all the Indians & partisans to death, as the greatest part of those ^{of} Williams was then with him: all his propositions was refus'd: he asked me if nothing would do but fighting... I knew of nothing else: he then begged me to stay until he should return to the Garrison and consult his Officers: being indifferent about him and wanted a few moments ^{for my Tracts} to refresh themselves I told him that the firing should ~~not~~ commence until such an hour, that during that time he was at liberty to pass with safety. Some time before a party of Warriours sent by M^r. Hamilton against Kentucky, had taken two Prisoners, was discovered by the Kentucky who gave information of them. A Party

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was immediately Detached to meet them which
happened in the Commons: They conceived our Troops
to be a party sent by W^r Hamilton to conduct them
in; an host commonly paid them... I was highly
pleased to see each Party hoisting, hollowing and
stoking each other Breasts as they approached
~~each other~~ in the open Fields each seemed to try to
outdo the other in the greatest signs of Joy: the
Poor Devils never discovered their mistake until it
was too late for many of them to escape; Six of them
were made Prisoners, two of them Scalped and the
rest so wounded as we afterwards learnt, but one
lived. I had now a fair opportunity of making
an impression on the Indians, that I could have
wished for; that of convincing them that Governor
Hamilton could not give them that protection that
he had made them to believe he could. in some
measure to incense the Indians against him for
not exerting himself to save their Friend. Ordered
the Prisoners to be Tomahawked in the Law of the
Garrison: It had the effect that I expected: instead
of making their friends insurate against us, they
upbraided the English Parties in not trying to save
their Friends and gave them to understand that

52 They believed them to be liars and no Warriors,
A remarkable circumstance hapned that I think
worthy our notice: An old French gent. of the name
of Croix Leont. of Capt. Mcarty's Volunteers
from Cohos had but one Son who headed these
Indians and was made Prisoner. The Question was
put whether the White Man should be saved. Ordered
them to put him to Death, through Insignation,
which did not extend to the Savages, ^{for} fear he would
make his escape; his Father drew his sword and
stood by him in order to pierce him through incase
he should stir; being painted could not know him.

The Witch on seeing the Executioner's Tomahawk
raised to give the fatal stroke, raised his eyes
as if making his last Address to heaven; cried
out Spare me. The Father knew his Son's voice
you may easily guess of the of the agitation and
behaviour of these two persons coming to the knowledge
of each other at so critical a moment. I had so little
money for such Miserable, and so valuable an
opportunity for an Example; knowing there would
be the greatest solicitations made to save him, that
I immediately abondoned myself; but by the warm
entreaties from his Father who had behaved
so exceedingly well in our service, and some of
the Officers, I granted his life on certain conditions

Mr. Hamilton and myself again met; he produced
certain Articles which was refused; but towards
the close of the Evening I sent him the following
Articles _____

1. That Gen^t. Governor Hamilton engages to
deliver up to Col^o. Clark, Fort Sackville as it
is at present with all the Stores &c.
2. The Garrison are to deliver themselves up
Prisoners of War and March out with their
Arms and Accoutrements &c &c
3. The Garrison to be delivered up tomorrow at
ten o'clock ---
4. Three days time be allowed the Garrison to settle
their accompts with the Traders and Inhabitants
of this place ---
- 5thly The Officers of the Garrison to be allowed
their necessary Baggage &c &c

Which was agreed to and fulfilled the next day know-
ing that Governor Hamilton had sent a party of Men
up the Ohio back to come for Stores that he had left
there which must be on the return; I waited about
twelve hours for the arrival of the Galley to intercept
them; but fearing their getting Intelligence, despatched
Capt. Helms with a party in Armed Boats who

Suspicious and made Prisoners of Forty, among
which was Dejeane, Grand Judge of Detroit with
a large Packet from Detroit, and seven Boats
load of Provisions, Indian Goods &c. Never was a
Person more mortified than I was at thig time to
see so fair an opportunity to push Detroit, lost for
want of a few Men; knowing that they would
immediately make greater preparations expect-
ing me. The Galley had taken up on her pass-
age the Express from Williamsburg with letters from
his Excellency. Having at once all the intelligence
I could wish for from both sides, I was better able to
fix my future ^{against the Treaty} Plans of operation. By his excellen-
t Letter I might expect to have a compleat
Battallion in a few months, the Militia of the
Illinois I knew would turn out, did not doubt of
getting two or three hundred Men from Kentucky
Consequently put the matter out of doubt.
I contented myself on that presumption having
almost as many Prisoners as I had Men.
Feeling the necessity of getting rid of many of the
Prisoners, not being able to guard them; not
doubting but my good treatment to the Volunteers
Inhabitants of Detroit would promote my Interest
there I discharged the greatest Part of them that
had

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had not been with Indian Parties, on their taking
the Oath of Neutrality. They went off huzzazing for the
Congress and declared though they could not fight
against the Americans they would ^{aid} them. As I
after this had spies constant to and from Detroit
I learnt they answered every purpose that I could have wished
for, by prejudicing their friends in favour of America.
So certain was the Inhabitants of that Post, that they
of my Marching immediately against it, that they
made Provisions for me in defiance of the Garrison
Many of them have paid dear for it since.—
I dispatched off Capt. Williams and Compy with
Governour Hamilton, his Principal Officers and a
few Soldiers to the Falls of Ohio, so we went to Williams-
burg, and in a few days sent my Letters to the Govour.
Having matters a little settled, the Indian Department
became the next Object. I knew that Mr. Hamilton
had endeavoured to make them believe that we
intended at last to take all their Lands from them
and that in case of success we should ~~have~~ show
no greater Mercy for those that did not join him
than those that did. I endeavoured to make
my self acquainted the Arguments he used: And
calling together the Neighbouring Nations,
Frankland

Rankes-haws, Hishes-paw, & others that would not listen
to him Indeavoured to undceive them; I made a
very long Speech to them in the Indian manner, &
told them to the Shies for their Manly behaviour
and Fidelity; told them that we were no far from
having any design on their Lands, that I looked
upon it that we were then on their Land where the
Fort stood, that we claimed no Land in their
Country; that the first Man that offered to take
their Lands by Violence must strike the tomahawk
in my head; that it was only necessary that I
should be in their Country during the War and
keep a Fort in it to drive the English, who had a
design against all People; after that I might go
to some place where I could get Land to support
Me. The Treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of
both parties; they were much pleased at what they
heard and begged me the next day to favour them
the next day with my Compt^t at a Council of their
~~own~~ accordingly attended; greatest part of the
time spent in ceremony; they at last told me
that they had been meditating on what I had
said the day before: that all the Nations would be
rejoiced to have me always in their Country as their

greatest Father and Protector. And as I had said
I would claim no Land in their Country, they were
determined that they would not loose me on that
Account; and Revolved to give me a Piece, but larger
than they had given to all the French at that
Village, and laying down what they would wish
me to do ~~ff~~. I was well pleased at their offer
as I had then an opportunity to deny the excep-
tance, & farther convince them that we did not
want their Land; they appear'd dejected at my
Refusal; I waved the discourse upon other
Subjects: Recommended a Frolick to them that night
as the Sky was clearer than ever; gave them a Party
of Taffy and Provisions to make merrymore and left
them. In a few days some Chepwayns and others
that had been with Mr. Hamilton, came in and
begged me to expose their Blindness and take them
into favour; after the warmest Solicitations for
Money. I told them that the Big Knives was mer-
ciful which prov'd them to be Warriors; that I should
send Bolts and a Speech to all the Nations; that
they after hearing of it might do as they pleased
but must blame themselves for future misfortunes
and dispatched them. Nothing destroys your Interest
among

among the Savages as soon as wavering sentiments
or speeches that show the heart ^{fear} ~~to~~ ^{fear} ~~to~~ ^{fear} ~~to~~ ^{fear} ~~to~~ ^{fear} ~~to~~ ^{fear} ~~to~~ ^{fear}
had abounded one steady line of conduct among them:
Mr. Hamilton, who was almost despised among them
being captured by me, it was a sufficient confirmation
to the Indians of every thing I had formerly said to
them and gave the greatest weight to the Speeches
I intended to send to send them: expecting that I
should shortly be able to fulfill my threats with
a Body of Troops sufficient to penetrate into any part
of their Country: and by reducing Detroit bring them
to my feet. I sent the following speech to the
different Tribes near the Lakes that was at war with
us. to wit.

To the Warriirs of the diffrent Nations,

Men and Warriirs; it is a long time since the
Big Knives sent Belts of peace among you soliciting
of you not to listen to the bad talks and deceit of the
English as it would at some future day tend to the
Destruction of your Nations. You would not listen,
but joined the English against the Big Knives and
spilt much Blood of Women & Children. The
Big Knives then resolved to shew no mercy to any
People that hereafter would refuse the Belt of

Peace which should be offered, at the same time
One for War; & if You remember last summer a
great many People took me by the hand, but a few
kept back their Hearts. I also sent Belts of Peace and
War among the Nations, to take their choice. some
took the Peace Belt, others still listened to their
great Father (as they call him) at Detroit, and joined
him to come to War against me. The Big Knives are
Warriours and look on the English as old Women and
all those that join him, and are ashamed when they
fight them because they are no Men — —

I now send two Belts to all the Nations, one for
Peace and the other for War. The one that is for War
has your great English Fathers Scalp tied to it, and
made red with his Blood; all you that call your-
selves his Children, make your Hatchets sharp &
come out and revenge his Blood on the Big Knives.
Fight like Men that the Big Knives may not be
ashamed when they fight you; that the old Women
may not tell us that we only fought Squaws. If any
of you is for taking the Belt of Peace, send the
Bloody Belt back to me that I may know who to
take by the hand as Brothers. for you may be
assured that no peace for the future will be granted
to those that do not lay down their Arms immediately.

To us you will I dont care whether You are for Peace
or War; as I glory in War and want Enemies to fight
us, the English cant fight us any longer and are
become like Young Children begging the Big Knives
for money and a Little Bread to eat; This is the last
Speech you may ever expect from the Bigknives,
The next thing will be the Tomahawk. And You
may expect in Four Moons to see your Women &
Children given to the Dogs to eat, while those
Nations that have kept their words with me will
Flourish and grow like the Willow Trees on the
River Banks under the care and nourishment
of their Father the Big Knives.

In a few weeks great Numbers came in to St. Vincent's
and treated for Peace being laughed at by those
that had strictly kept their adhe^d to their former
Treaty with me. After giving every Department
so as to promise future advantage sending
Setters to the County Seat of Kentucky soliciting
him to make some preparatory strokes towards
Joining me when called on by with all the force
he could raise, leaving a sufficient Garrison
on the 20th of March I set out for Parkhorses
by Water with a guard of eighty Men, spending
much time in making some observation at
different Places; consequently arrived too late to
have

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have hindered a War that commenced between the
few Delawares residing in this part of the World and
the Inhabitants; a few of them that had joined the
British Party knowing what had hapned went to
Kaskaskias, as was supposed to compromise
matters; but getting drunk with some loose Young
Fellows gave some threats on each side; one of the
Indians snapping a gun at a Woman's Breast
two of them was immediately killed the rest pursued
by the Townsmen some distance down the River one
killed and some others wounded. The War was carried on
pretty equal on both sides for several Months: but they
at last thought proper to sign a peace. During
my absence Capt. Robert George commandt. the
Compt. formerly Capt. Willingt. had arrived from
Orleans taking charge of the Garrison which was a
considerable reinforcement to our little Party. Every
thing having the appearance of tranquility. I resolved
to spend a few weeks in Diversion which I had not
done since my arrival in the Illinois, but found
it impossible when I had any matter of importance
in view, the Reduction of Detroit was always uppermost
in my mind, not from a motive of Malice; but
from the desire I had of Establishing a profound
Peace on our Frontiers; being so well acquainted with
its situation, Strength and Influence; that in case
I was not disappointed in Number of Troops I expected

even mounted Detroit my own, receiving letters
from Col. Bowman at Kentucky informing me that
I might expect him to reinforce me with ~~three hundred~~
men when ever I should call on him; at the same
time receiving Intelligence from Col. Montgomery
I now thought my success reduced to a certainty, imme-
diately set about making provision for the Expedition
to be ready against the arrival of the Troops to give
the Enemy as little time as possible to complete
the new fortifications I knew they were then about
I sent an Express to Col. Bowman desiring him to
join me on the 20th. of June at St. Vincent with
all the force he possibly could raise agreeable to his
Letters to me; sent out Capt. ~~Langford~~ among the differ-
ent Nations of Indians to receive their congratulations
on our late success with the submission of those that
resolved to revolt the English &c as well as to get fresh
Intelligence from Detroit. The Civil Departm^t
In the Illinois had heretofore robed me of too much of
my time, that ought to be spent in Military reflection
I was now likely to be relieved by Col. Jr. Todd
appointed by Government for that purpose; I was
anxious for his arrival & happy in his appointment
as the ^{affectionate} intimacy and friendship subsisted
between us; and on the day of may had the
pleasure of seeing him safely landed at Lashashie.

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The Joy of every Person: I now saw myself happily
out of a piece of trouble that I had no delight in.
~~in a few days~~ Col: Montgomery arrived
to my Mortification, found that he had not half the
Men that I expected; immediately receiving a letter
from Col: Bowman with such Assurances of a
considerable Reinforcement. The Officers in Genl:
being anxious for the Expedition, resolved to
Rendezvous according to appointment; and if not
deceived by the Kentuckians I should still be able
to complete my design, as I only wanted Men sufficient
to make me appear respectable in passing through
the Savages by which means I could on this March
Command those friendly at my ease, and defy my
Enemies. Three hundred Men being at this time
sufficient to reduce the Garrison of Detroit, as the
new Works was not completed, nor could not be according
to the Plan before my Arrival. The Gentlemen of Detroit
not being idle (having sufficient reason to be convinced
that they were in no danger from the Dep't of Pittsburg
always suspicious of my attracting them, sensible
of my growing Interest among) the Savages.
In order to give themselves more time to fortify by ma-
king some diversion on the Illinois engaged a considera-
ble number of their Savages to make an attempt on

9. Vincents; those Indians that had declared for
the American Interest, in order to shew their Zeal sent
word to them that if they had a mind to fight the Boston-
ians at St. Vincents, they first must first cut their
way through them, as they were Big Knives too. This
effectually wopt their operation, knowing that the
Expedition depended entirely on ^{the} Kentucky's running
out, I began to be suspicious of a disappointment on
hearing of their Marching against the Shawnee Towns,
which proved too true for on my arrival at St. Vincents
the first of July, instead of two or three hundred Men
that I was promised, I found only about thirty Volun-
teers, meeting with a Repulse from the Shawnees got
~~disorganized~~ consequently did in the hour of the day to March them
to Miltip, being for some time, (as I hinted before)
suspicions of a disappointment, I had conducted
matters so as to make no ill impression on the
minds of the savages in case I should not proceed as
the whole had suspected that my design was against
Detroit, several Nations solicited me to go and suffer
them to join me. Various were the conjectures respecting
the propriety of the attempt with the troops we had
(about three hundred & fifty) at a council of War held
for the purpose there was only two casting voices
against it and pretend it was on account of Genl.
Sullivans Marching against Niagara, which we
first heard ^{that} ~~it~~ ^{the} 1st of Aug.

Detroit would fall of course; and consequently was
not worth our while Marching against it: although
I knew at same time Detroit would not fall with
Niagara, as they had an easy communication with
Montreal through another Channel by way of the
Grand River. A number of Indians visited me at this
time renewing the Chain of Friendship &c to all of
whom I gave Genl. satisfaction, except that of my
refusal of a Tract of Land that their Chief had formerly
offered me; I inquired of several Gentlemen acquainted
with them, why they were Siccities about it; their
opinion was that the Indians being exceedingly
jealous about of their Lands being taken without their
consent, being told by the English that I had a
design on their Country, by my excreping a Tract
from them as a present, would prove ~~it~~ sufficient
to them that what they had been told was false,
being satisfied in this they also had a desire of my
remaining in their Country as their Chief and Guardian
and that my refusal had given them suspicion; in order
to remove it I made a suitable Speech to them which
gave Genl. satisfaction and in a few days they with
a great deal of ceremony presented me the following
Decd of gift.

By the Tobaccoes Son Grand Chief of all the Franke-
lans Nations and of all the Nations Tribes, Grand Gov-
to the Quabash as ordered by the master of Life, holding
the Tomahawk in one hand and Peace in the other
Judging the Nations, giving entrance for those that
are for Peace, and making them a Clear Road &c

Declaration

Whereas for many years past, this once Beautiful
Land hath been put in confusion by the English
encouraging all People to raise the Tommahawk
against the Big Knives, saying that they were a bad
People, Robetioners, and ought to be put from under
Sun and their names to be nomore.

But as the Sky at our Councils was always
Misty and never clear we still was at a loss to know
what to do, hoping that the Master of Life would one
Day or other make the Sky Clear and put us in the right
Road. He taking Pitty on us sent a Father among us
(Col: George Rogers Clark) that has cleared our eyes
and made our Path straight defending our Land &c
So that we now enjoy Peace from the Riving to the
Setting of Sun; and the Nations even to the Heads of the
great River (running the Mississippi) are happy and will
nomore listen to Bad Birds; but abide by the Councils of
their great Father, a Chief of the Big Knives that is
now among us

and

And whereas it is our desire that he shoulde long
remain among us, that we may take his counseil and be
happy; it also being our desire to give him Land to reside
on in our Country that we may at all times speake to
him. After many solicitations to him to make choice of
a Tract of land he chusing the Land adjoining the falls
of Ohio on the west side of said River.

I do hereby in the names of all the great Chiefs and Warriors
of the Ouabash and their Allies, Declare that somuch
Land at the falls of Ohio contained in the following
bounds, to wit, Begining opposite the middle of the
first Island below the falls, Bounded upwards by the
west bank Bank of the River so far as to include two
Leagues and halfor a straight line from the beginning.
Then at right angles with said line two Leagues & half in
Breadth, in all its parts shall hereafter and ever be the
sole property of our great Father (Col. Clark) with all
things thereto belonging, either above or below the Earth
shall be and is his, except a Road through the said
Land to his Door which shall remain ours, and for us
to walk on to speake to our Father. All Nations from the
Rising to the setting of the Sun, that are not in alliance
with us are hereby warned to esteem the said gift as
sacred and not to make that Land taste of Blood; that
all People either at peace or War may repair in safety
to get Council of our Father. Whoever first darkens

that Land shall no longer have a Name. This declaration
shall forever be a Witness between all Nations
and my Precent of Father; that the said Land are
forever hereafter his Property. In witness whereof I do
in the name of all the Great Chiefs and Warriors of
the Quashash in open Council affix my mark and
Seal done at St. Vincent this 16th day of June 1779

(Signed) Francis son of Tobacco.

Which Deed I accepted, and Indeavoured to convince them
how much I prized so liberal a gift &c as I had no
idea of having Property in the Lands myself, knowing
the Laws of my Country justly against it. I chose it
at the Falls of Ohio suspecting that I might hereafter
find it necessary to fortify that place for conveniency
of Free Intercourse Having a Number of supernumerary
Officers I sent them into the Settlement recruiting
finding the Interest of the Department required me to
spend a few months at the Falls of Ohio being also
Induced with the hopes of giving the Shawnees a
Trubing incase a sufficient force could be again
raised at Kentucky; After giving proper Instructions
for the direction of the Com^d of the different Posts
I set out for the Falls where I arrived safe on the
20 day of August ~~—~~ I received a Letter Express
from his Excellency much to my Satisfaction
having fresh Assurance of a sufficient Reinforce-
ment and his Intention to erecting a
Fortification

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Fortification at or near the Mouth of Ohio, so much
the desire of every Person it being a place of great
Importance, and by having a strong Fortification &c
it would immediately be the Molt and Key of the
Western Country; all my Expectations in my being
here has been disappointed (excepting laying up
a considerable Quantity of Beef) by lowness of the
River which is remarkable that it would be worth
bothering, few being able to navigate it with the
smallest Canoe for several months Past.

I shall not for the future leave it in your Power
to accuse me for a Neglect of Friendship, but shall
continue to transmit to you whatever I think
worth your notice.

I am, Sir with esteem Yours

B. As for the description of the Illinois Country
which you seem so anxious for you may expect to
have by the ensuing Fall as I expect by that Period
to be able to give you a more genl. Idea of it. this you
may take for granted that its more beautiful than
any Idea I could have formed of a Country almost
in a state of Nature, every thing you behold is an
additional Beauty; On the River you'll find the
finest Lands the Sun ever shone on; In the high
Country you will find a Variety of Poor & Rich Lands
with large Meadows extending beyond the reach of
your Eyes Variegated with groves of Trees appearing

like Islands in the Sea covered with Buffaloes &
other Game; in many Places with a good Glass
You may see all those that is on their feet in half
a Million of Acres; so level is the Country, which
some future day will excell in Battle. The Settle-
ments of the Illinois commenced about one
hundred Years ago by a few Traders from Can-
ada my Reflections on that head & situation the
probability of a flourishing Trade the state
of the Country at present what it is capable of
Producing My opinion respecting the
cause of those extenive Plains & the
Advantages arising by strong Fortifications
and Settlements at the mouth of Ohio. The
different Nations and of Indians their Traditions
Numbers &c You may expect in my
next

W. Clark
